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THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE IROQUOIS CON-
FEDERACY;

OR,

WHAT HAPPENED ON THE ST. LAWRENCE BETWEEN THE TIMES OF
CARTIER AND CHAMPLAIN.

BY

JAMES DOUGLAS.

The sixty-five years which followed Cartier and Roberval's futile attempt at colonization in the valley of the St. Lawrence in 1543 composed the dark age of Canadian history. A desultory trade was no doubt carried on with the Indians of the St. Lawrence between 1542 and 1608. Jacques Noel, Cartier's nephew, writing in 1553 to Moses Growte, corrects some inaccuracies on a certain map of North America dedicated to Mr. Hakluyt, which had been shown him, by referring to his own observations and to a map of his uncle's, which he says has been lent to his two sons, Michael and John, then in Canada: and he promises that if on their return he learned from them anything new worth recording he would communicate it. But there is no reason to suppose that any of these traders extended their operations beyond the limits of Cartier's explorations, which reached Hochelaga, the present site of Montreal, at the junction of the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence. They more probably confined them to the mouth of the Saguenay, for Tadousac was a great centre of Indian barter when Champlain founded his colony in 1608, and probably was then, as Lake St. John now is, a rendezvous of the Algonquin tribes, who hunted for skins over the Labrador promontory and wandered northwesterly to the very land of their kinsfolk, the Crees.

But during this blank in the annals of the St. Lawrence a revolution was being enacted there, which these transitory visitors from Europe did not deem worthy of recording, but which was to have momentous effects upon the fate of both the white and the red men east of the Mississippi for nearly two centuries. As bearing on the origin of the Indians occupying the shores of the Gulf and the valley of the river St. Lawrence, Cartier's narrative gives some fragmentary evidence. On his first voyage in 1534, when he explored only the Gulf of St. Lawrence, he came in contact with

the Labrador Indians, with whom French fishermen had been trafficking for a generation. But when he landed on the present coast of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick he met and bartered his trinkets with Indians who, he says, "had not the same character or language as those he had first seen." "Their dwellings were," according to his limited observation, "overturned canoes, under which they lay on the bare ground." They were probably Indians of the upper St. Lawrence, either on the war-path or on a hunting or fishing expedition. From the last point which Cartier touched on the south shore on this his first voyage, which he called Honguedo—probably Gaspé Basin—he abducted two youths, Taiguragny and Domagaya. Thence he returned to the Labrador coast, partly circumnavigating the island of Anticosti, and the season growing late, started for France.

On the second voyage, made the following year, he was accompanied by his two Indian captives. When his ships reached the north channel, between Anticosti and Labrador, his captives, who seemed perfectly familiar with the geography of the whole country, described the great river which flowed into the gulf from the west. Evidently acting on their information, he ascended the St. Lawrence as far as Stadacona, the site of Quebec. That point reached, he at once put two of his vessels into winter quarters in a small affluent of the river St. Charles. He was received with every demonstration of friendship by Donnecana, the Chief of Stadacona, and his people, whom he found to be of kin to his two captive youths, though he had kidnapped them from a point 300 miles further down the river. These youths spoke the language of Stadacona, and we are led to infer that the fact of their capture was known to their kinsmen of that tribe. It was even claimed that one of the children given to Cartier as a hostage by Chief Donnecana was a brother of one of the captives. But as soon as Cartier expressed his determination to ascend the river in his smallest vessel, the *Emerillon*, and demanded the fulfilment of the promise of his two former captives that they go as his guide, Chief Donnecana, by persuasion and intrigue, used every effort to frighten and deter him from making the attempt, and forbade his tribesmen from accompanying him. Alone he therefore sailed up the great river. Both banks above Stadacona were peopled by Indians who made no effort to oppose his progress, but on the contrary, eagerly supplied him with fish, musk-rats, and other articles in exchange for the trifles he had brought with him for barter. On the 28th of September, or nine days after starting, they entered Lake St. Peter,

and next day, failing to find the channel, he left the *Emerillon* in charge of some of his men and proceeded in his boats. On the second of October they reached Hochelaga. Cartier gave to the magnificent mountain which rises so symmetrically from the river the name it still bears, and which it has given to the city which lies at its base and is climbing up its sides. On the bench, from which the steep slope of Montreal Mountain begins to tower, the Indians had built a large stockade village or *bourgade*. Though the narrator probably indulges in a traveller's license when he says that "over one thousand villagers gathered on the banks to greet them with the fervour of a parent welcoming his child," the population of Hochelaga was unquestionably great. The *bourgade* is described as round in shape and compassed by a stockade of three rows of stakes; the middle row perpendicular, the outer rows inclined towards it. The palisade was two lances high, and at several points adjacent to the palisade were elevated platforms, reached by ladders, on which were piled rocks to be used as defensive weapons. The enclosure was entered by a narrow gate. Within it were 50 lodges, each 50 paces in length and 12 or 13 paces in width. In the centre stood a common lodge. Cartier remarked a notable difference in their mode of life from that of the Stadacona Indians. He says "this people depended entirely on agriculture and fishing." "They take no account of the things of this world, being ignorant of their existence." "They never leave their home, not being migratory like the people of Canada, the Saguenays, who, nevertheless, with eight or nine other tribes living on the same river, are subject to them." The next description in contemporaneous history of the Indian village is that given by Champlain when, in 1615, he penetrated into the Huron country on the Georgian Bay on Lake Huron, and rested at the *bourgade* of Carhagouha, where the Recollet Fathers had already established a mission. He said it was surrounded for defense with a triple palisade of wood 35 feet high. But when he reached the Iroquois villages to the south of Lake Ontario, which he had been induced by his Huron allies to assist in capturing, but which successfully resisted their joint attack, he found another palisaded town of the same general plan and defences of the same construction, "though much stronger than the villages of the Allegonantes (Hurons) and others." The resemblance between the stockaded town of Hochelaga as described by Cartier, and those of the Huron and the Iroquois as described by Champlain, is significant.

Cartier's historiographer is unfortunately less precise in his

description of the dwellings and constitution of the *bourgade* of Stadacona over which Chief Donnecana ruled than in that of the construction and the government of Hochelaga. He tells us, it is true, of the demonstration, first of fear and then of welcome, made by the savages on their first coming—of the recognition of the two captive youths—of their opposition to his ascent of the river, of the haste Donnecana made to pay a visit of ceremony to the ships after Cartier's return from Hochelaga, and how he invited Cartier to Stadacona. The invitation was accepted and the visit paid on the following day, when Cartier, the gentlemen of his suit and fifty sailors, marched a league to the *Demeurance* of Stadacona, which was probably on the promontory overlooking the St. Lawrence and the St. Charles. The savages received him with their customary dances, and exhibited in proof of their prowess five dried scalps, but at the same time they admitted that one of their war parties had been almost totally exterminated two years previously in the lower St. Lawrence by Toudemous, a tribe no commentator has been able to identify, and they cried for vengeance. It was the approach toward negotiations for an offensive alliance against their enemies, to which Cartier did not respond. The coolness evinced in the subsequent conduct of the Indians may have dated from this visit. The narrative tells further of the half-hearted assistance the Indians extended him during the trials of the terrible winter spent on the St. Charles, and of certain of their domestic habits as he interpreted them. But we look in vain for a description of their dwellings, of their tribal government, or of other details, such as are given regarding Hochelaga, which would enable us to identify them without contradiction with one of the other of the great Indian races which occupied this section of the Continent—the Iroquois and the Algonquins.

We gather, however, that there were a number of Indian villages on this reach of the St. Lawrence, of which Stadacona was the principal. On Cartier's return from Hochelaga the attitude of the Indians of Stadacona gave him grave concern. Through the machinations, as he believed, of Taiguragny and Domagaya, his quondam captives, the alienation of the Indians of Canada became so menacing that, fearing hostilities, he protected his fort by a deep ditch and made the utmost parade of his small force. But no attack was attempted. In fact his apprehensions were probably groundless, and may have been due to suspicions instilled into him by Hogau-chuda, the chief of a neighboring village, who was jealous of, or had a grudge against, Donnecana. Where that village was staked

he does not tell us, but he adds, as it were, parenthetically, that "in the district of Canada," that is, west of Isle Aux Coudres and east of some point around between Stadacona and Hochelaga, there are several communities living in villages not stockaded—"villages non clos"—which expression may be intended to distinguish them as a group, including Stadacona, from Hochelaga, or merely to imply that they were small and not stockaded, in distinction of Stadacona itself. He continues, "At the end of and to the west of that Island" (the Island of Orleans), "there is a basin which forms an admirable harbor into which the river flows with a swift deep current between high bluffs. On them the land is cultivated, the soil being as rich as eye could wish to rest on." "Here is built the town of Stadacona, and the lodges of Chief Donnecana and of the two lads we captured on our first voyage." "But before reaching Stadacona four villages are passed, those of the Ajoasté, Starnaham and Tailla, which latter was built on a hillside, and of the Satadin." As Tailla is distinguished as being built on a hill, we may presume that it alone stood on the high south shore, the others on the Beauport Flats. "Then Stadacona is reached, beneath whose high cliff towards the north is the river and harbor of St. Croix, where our ships lay high and dry from the 15th of September to the 16th of May, 1536. This place passed, the villages of Téquenoudy and Hochelay are reached, the former on high land, the latter in a valley." All we know is that Hochelay was above Cap Rouge, for when on his third voyage Cartier started on what he intended to be a preliminary survey of the St. Lawrence above the Lachine Rapids, after leaving their winter quarters at Cap Rouge, the narrative says, "we proceeded up the river, and the captain paid a visit to the Lord of Hochelai, whose abode is between Canada and Hochelaga." Strange to say, Hochelaga itself is not even mentioned by the narrator of this third voyage as having been visited, but on the return of the expedition the Lord of Hochelay was absent, concocting, as they afterwards learned, hostilities against them with the Indians of Stadacona. The resemblance of the names Hochelay and Hochelaga links their inhabitants as belonging to the same stock.

But to return to Cartier's references to the aborigines on his second voyage. After the dreary winter had passed, Cartier hastened to depart with two ships—his smallest and his largest—his crews, decimated by scurvy, being too reduced in number to man all three. He was anxious to carry back with him not only his former captives, but an actual Indian chief. But the people of Stadacona, suspecting treachery, refused to assist the visiting ships.

On the other hand, Cartier's fears had been excited by the unusual gathering of Indians at Stadacona. They were probably only parties of hunters returning from their winter chase. For again Cartier's suspicions had been fanned by the insinuation of some new allies of his, the inhabitants of Stadin, doubtless the same as Satadin previously mentioned as the nearest to Stadacona of the chain of unstockaded villages which lined the south shore. In return for their friendship and their hints they were allowed to dismantle the abandoned ship for the sake of its nails.

It was through his body-servant, Charles Guyot, who was a favorite and had been a guest of Donnecana, that he succeeded in allaying that chief's suspicions and ultimately in trapping him and others. He secured their confidence by entering into negotiation for the capture of a certain chief Agona, who seems to have been obnoxious to Donnecana. Cartier pretended that his instructions were to carry to France no adults, but only people who had been instructed in the French language and in the Catholic faith. But he professed himself willing to transport their enemy to an island of Newfoundland and put him on shore, where he would certainly cease troubling them. Their apprehensions being thus allayed, they consented to attend the ceremony of the Elevation of the Holy Cross. Twelve of them were trapped and carried over to France.

The facts as above sketched bear out the following conclusions: That there were either sedentary or wandering branches of the Stadacona Indians on the south shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and that they differed in language and habits from those of the north shore of the Gulf; that the Stadacona Indians were sedentary, and cultivated lands; that from Cartier's specifying that certain of the surrounding villages were unenclosed, we may infer that Stadacona was stockaded; that there was jealousy between the Stadacona Indians and their near neighbors, though from their living in villages we may infer that they were probably racially allied and differed from the wandering tribes of the Algonquins; that there was a chain of villages between Stadacona and Hochelaga inhabited by Indians of similar habits and customs, and, therefore, of like lineage; that towards the close of this first attempt of colonization by France one, at least, of these communities allied itself with Stadacona to oppose the French intruders; that at the junction of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa was the largest and most powerful of these families or tribes, living in a strong stockaded village and exercising a certain control, if not coercion, over the Indians of the lower St. Lawrence; that if there was not hostility

between them there was at least acute distrust of each other by the Indians of Stadacona and Hochelaga. The inference is that all of these Indians were of one race but of different tribes, and that there were operating causes of disunion under which they were segregating themselves into allied groups.

That they belonged to the same race Cartier himself believed, for to the close of his first voyage he, or his historiographer, appends a list of words which he calls "*Le Langage de la terre nouvellement decouverte, appelée Nouvelle France,*" and he closes his second with another list of words and phrases from "*Le Langage des pays et royaumes de Hochelaga et Canada, Aultrement appelée par nous la Nouvelle France.*" The majority of the words of the same object in the two lists closely agree. As he met on his first voyage only some travelling bands of the Indian tribe of Stadacona, and as the second list of words is stated to be from the language of Hochelaga as well as of Canada, we have thus corroborative evidence that the language of both *bourgades* was substantially the same.

That the Indians of Hochelaga belonged to the great Iroquois family the minute description of the stockaded village and of its internal organization leaves no room for doubt; and if all the Indians of both Hochelaga and Canada, that is, of the whole valley west of Isle Aux Coudres, spoke the same language, then the whole of the St. Lawrence between the Gulf and Ottawa was occupied by one or more of this powerful race. Mr. J. C. Pilling, in the preface to his Bibliography of the Iroquoian Languages (Bulletin of the Smithsonian Institute, 1880), referring to the Cartier vocabularies, says, "To the Iroquoian, perhaps, belongs the honor of being the first of any American family of language to be placed on record." Sir Daniel Wilson, in the second volume of the Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada, compares Cartier's words for the numerals with corresponding words in the dialect of the Huron Indians of Lorette near Quebec. The resemblance is occasionally so close as to support a presumption of Indian linguistic affinity despite the dissimilarity between some of Cartier's words and their representatives in the modern dialect; a dissimilarity so wide that the imagination of the most ingenious philological casuist would find it difficult to bridge it. For instance, among the numerals are the following:

	HOCHELAGA AND CANADA.	LAURETTE, MODERN HURON.
1.....	Secata	Skat
3.....	Asche	Achiu
5.....	Ouiscon	Visch
10.....	Assem	Asen

In another table Sir David Wilson gives on the authority of Mr. Horatio Hale the corresponding words from Cartier and the language of the Wyandots, a branch of the Hurons, now living in Anderdon Township, Ontario. Here again we find close resemblance, and as might be anticipated, wide divergence; for apart from the change which would inevitably take place in unwritten speech in the three intervening centuries, Cartier's philologists cannot have followed very definite rules in expressing the inflexions of the Indian language by the European alphabets, nor could he have had much opportunity of correcting the idiosyncrasies of the individual pronunciations or the peculiarities of dialect of his few guides, by any widely extended comparison. Charlevoix's evidence, though given in 1744, is not of much value. He says the inhabitants of Hochelaga spoke the Huron language. Cartier's evidence is of more value when he states specifically that the vocabulary he gives is that of words and sentences spoken by the inhabitants of the two villages and tribes of Stadacona and Hochelaga. The incidental references to correspondence in manners and organization confirm the linguistic evidence of the racial units of the two communities and of their essential differences from the Indians of the Algonquin stock, which then inhabited the north shore of the Gulf and of the lower St. Lawrence.

When Champlain visited Stadacona and Hochelaga in 1608, only 65 years after Roberval withdrew his company of unsuccessful colonists, and only 66 years from the date of Champlain's third departure, the Iroquois name of Stadacona had given place to the Algonquin name of Quebec.* There were on the St. Lawrence no populous stockaded villages occupied by a sedentary population with the crude social and political organization of the departed race. He found only scattered bands of nomadic Indians of the Algonquin race.

The Huron inhabitants of the *bourgade* of Hochelaga (if we assume they were Hurons), had migrated to the shores of the Georgian Bay on Lake Huron,—but the descendants of Donnecana,—where were they? Were they with their kindred on Lake Huron, or had they been driven from their picturesque fastness or

* We assume that Champlain means, when he says it was so called by the Indians, that Quebec was its Indian name, as Kebec is the Micmac word for a contracted water-way. We may accept that as the origin of the name in preference to the fanciful myth that Champlain or one of his comrades on first seeing the magnificent promontory jutting out between the St. Lawrence and the St. Charles exclaimed "Que'Bec!"

voluntarily abandoned it in favor of the more temperate valley of the Mohawk? Indian tradition assigns as the cradle of the Indian Huron-Iroquois race the land south of the St. Lawrence and between it and the sea. Another tradition places the cradle of the race on the Lakes, and makes the tribes migrate first towards the sunrise as far as the sea before they return to their ancestral inland home. (Beecham's *Iroquois Trail*, page 11.) Whichever tradition reflects the truth, they both assign to the Iroquois stock the temporary abode where Cartier and Roberval found them dwelling in the first half of the 16th century. In further confirmation of this tradition we find Indian tribes belonging to the same stock occupying the seaboard as far south as Florida. The Cherokees, for instance, possessed ethnical traits and exhibited linguistic peculiarities which linked them to the Iroquois stem. They also displayed all the native prowess of the stock from which they sprung. But while these offshoots of the race may have remained upon the seaboard, the race itself developed into its most distinctive type in the tribes of the Hurons and of the Iroquois-Confederation. The Hurons, when we came to know them distinctly as such, occupied the eastern shore of the Georgian Bay and were at bitter feud with their brethren of the Five Nations, whose stockaded towns extended over the Genesee and Mohawk valleys south of Lake Ontario almost from the Niagara River to the Hudson. There was another tradition current among the Hurons, as recorded by the Recollet and Jesuit missionaries, that they had been driven from their former abode on the St. Lawrence by the Senecas. The Wyandot historian, Peter Dvoyentate, states that the Senecas even occupied with the Hurons the island of Montreal. (Sir D. Wilson, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Vol. 2.) If, as is almost certain, the stockade of Hochelaga was inhabited by the Hurons, it is not a forced conjecture to infer that the Indians of Stadacona belonged to another branch of the Iroquois family and that they may have been the ancestors of the future Senecas. Their vacillating relations with Cartier would be thus explicable. At first friendly, they at once assumed a suspicious and almost hostile attitude as soon as he expressed a determination to ascend the river to the headquarters of their enemies, the Hurons. If they had hostile designs against the Hurons, they would employ every device of Indian diplomacy to prevent the Frenchmen with arquebuses and cannon from coming into friendly contact with their foes. Why they did not at once propose an offensive alliance and a war-like expedition, as the Algonquins did to Champlain in the next century, may be due to the promptness

with which Cartier acted, and the indifference he displayed to their co-operation. Iroquois tradition dates the formation of their great confederacy back to the 14th or 15th century, but though the first imperfect plans and constitution may then have been formed, the growth and consolidation of its power was gradual. Even after its normal development was interrupted by European interference, we see the Five Nations absorbing a Sixth, and strengthening the depleted forces of confederation by the incorporation, after their defeat, of a distant and previously hostile branch of the race. Although, therefore, the confederacy may have been established in the Mohawk country and the groundwork laid of its future power, when Cartier found the Iroquois occupying the valley of the St. Lawrence, it was probably only beginning to experience the enormous force inherent in consolidation. Its astute statesmen, for such they doubtless were, had formulated the distinct policy of gathering into a restricted area, where the agricultural capabilities were great and whose strategical position was strong, the most powerful and war-like members of the great scattered family. Of these members the Hurons were the most conspicuous, but they were probably so powerful and numerous as to be unwilling to merge their independence into the Mohawk confederacy, and abandon their favorable site at the Junction of the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence. Yet if they refused to enter, and declined to consolidate their forces with those of the confederacy, their separate existence would be a standing menace. They would be certain to become the nucleus of another confederation which would be hostile to and perhaps destructive of that already formed; and therefore the aim of the Mohawk chiefs would be to annihilate, if they could not absorb it. Cartier tells us that the Hochelaga tribe, whom we have supposed to be Hurons, were already so strong as to dominate over the Indians of Stadacona and the lower St. Lawrence. The Mohawk confederacy had therefore allies already made, or tribes inclined to be allies, in the kindred Indians to the east of Hochelaga. In the interval between Roberval's departure and Champlain's appearance on the scene the Mohawk confederation probably swept down on Hochelaga, and, with the aid of the Stadacona-Iroquois, dislodged the Hurons and obliged them to migrate to some other locality. The locality chosen by the Hurons would necessarily be one at what they considered a safe distance from the Iroquois canoes, and where they would have space in which to grow, and to create by affiliation another confederation with which to oppose their implacable enemies. No better spot could have been selected than the shores of Georgian Bay.

Between them and their enemies there lay beyond Lake Ontario the whole peninsula of western Ontario peopled by the Attivendaronks or Neutres, the Tiontates or Petuns and other tribes of the Iroquois stock who, if not their allies, dreaded the power of the confederacy as acutely as they did themselves.

The story of what befell them in their retreat on Lake Huron and how at length they returned to the St. Lawrence under the protection of the French, forms an integral part of the history of New France during the 17th century. In fact that history was shaped in a great measure by the complications which sprung out of the French entanglements in Huron wars and politics. These subsequent events are matters of history. The tragedies, however, which were enacted in this dark corner of the continent during the half century or more of obscurity following Cartier's and Roberval's departure, can be a subject for speculation only. But it is a dramatically interesting one. We cannot imagine that the small migratory bands of hunters without organization or policy, whom Champlain found on the St. Lawrence, destroyed the stockaded town of Hochelaga after subduing the populous tribes of Stadacona and its vicinity. It was only when the combined strength of the Iroquois of the east and of the west had crushed the Huron Iroquois that the poor wandering Micmacs, or whoever the Algonquins may have been, ventured to enter on the vacated territory. The Stadacona Indians may have been Senecas, but whether they were or not, if they were the allies of the Mohawks in this their first Huron war, it was in obedience to the wise policy of consolidation that they abandoned their home, which was too far from the centre of consolidation to be safe, and removed to some other territory contiguous to that already occupied by the confederated nations. If they were what was afterwards known as the Senecas, they became the left wing of the forces of that powerful group of war-like communities and occupied the shores of the beautiful lake of that name, to the west of the Onondagas, who probably then occupied the country between Oneida and Cayuga lakes. They therefore formed the westerly bulwark between the other members of the compact and the Hurons. They must have been the most obnoxious of all the Iroquois nations to that most harassed member of the family. It was consistent therefore with the existence of this grudge that, when the Hurons in 1616 secured the co-operation of Champlain on one of their war-like expeditions, they should lead him to attack the Senecas.

If my supposition be correct the sixty-five years of dense obscurity covered the critical period in the history of the Mohawk

confederacy. It had, we may assume, been created and its general policy been framed during the previous centuries. That policy was that of incorporating into the confederacy friendly branches of the parent stock if they would adopt their principles and merge their individuality into the unity of the League, but of ruthlessly crushing, to the extent of annihilation, all rivals and relentlessly and perseveringly waging war of revenge. The confederacy probably then consisted of not more than four so-called nations. But it was becoming sensible of the power of combination, when there sprang up on the St. Lawrence another highly organized nation with similar institutions and instincts and presumably kindred aims, which would be sure to gather to itself in a rival and therefore necessarily hostile combination the tribe or tribes, presumably the Senecas, occupying the lower St. Lawrence. There were already signs of coöperation even at the period of Cartier's third voyage. We have seen how the chief of Hochelaga was combining with the chief of Stadacona against him. There was evidently therefore danger in any other confederation, whether it were grouped around the Stadacona or the Hochelaga tribe, to the Mohawk supremacy. And therefore by means of diplomacy and war the Huron hopes and Huron influence were crushed and the Iroquois of Stadacona first secured as allies, and then drawn in from the St. Lawrence and incorporated into the confederacy. They then formed the fifth Nation of the League and added more than a fifth to the terror which their valor and discipline cast over the whole middle section of eastern North America. It is strange that events and incidents so important and so recent should have failed to be recorded by the missionaries who soon after made their abode among the Hurons; for oral tradition is almost undying among the Indians; and there must have been aged men and women on the Georgian Bay who had been born at Hochelaga and remembered the great migration. But the critical bias of the historical spirit was not strong in the early colonists of New France, and even Champlain was no exception. Thus it came about that a complete revolution, which was most momentous and which produced grave consequences during the early course of Canadian history, remains untold and can only be guessed at—a curious example of how short a space of time may be required for great national changes to take place, and all record of them be obliterated, when neither architectural monuments nor written literature exists to commemorate past or record current events. We can only conjure up in imagination what happened in the formal councils in the lodges of the Iroquois and Hurons; the protracted negotiations

between the rival confederacies; the gravity and earnestness with which the alternatives of peace or war were discussed; the care with which the plans of the campaigns were elaborated, after all possible alliances had been secretly made; the attack in force upon the Hochelaga stockade; the failure to destroy it by the *coup de main*; then the ceaseless harassment by small bands of Iroquois of every party of Hurons which ventured beyond the stockade, till their fields lay waste and the river with its fish, though in sight, was made virtually inaccessible. The Hurons were evidently too strong to be conquered and annihilated and too independent to accept absorption, but yet too weak to become aggressive or to defend themselves. The war was doubtless waged with every aggravation of horrid cruelty, and with the same fiendish ingenuity and barbarity with which the second war against the same Hurons in the next century was prosecuted. Hochelaga was probably not abandoned till the retreat of so much of the nation as survived became the only alternative to annihilation. When they decided to retreat they must have escaped from their magnificent position, magnificent then as now, at the meeting of the two great water-ways, at a moment when their enemies were off the scent. The line of flight must have been by canoe up the Ottawa and the Mattawa over Lake Nipissing and down the French River into the land-locked recesses of the Georgian Bay, which they evidently thought would be a safe retreat.

While these politicians and warriors in the dense forests of America were framing policies, negotiating alliances, plotting one another's destruction, waging bitter war with relentless ferocity, and with sleepless vigilance watching their opportunity to kill and torture; while their fleets of canoes were being stealthily paddled to points of attack or were noiselessly carrying them to some secluded place of safety; while these wily savages were thus playing the game of statecraft and of war with no great world looking on to applaud or reprobate, but with an energy as intense and with cunning as astute as if a drama were being enacted on a vaster field and the issues were of world-wide interest, the same qualities were being exercised on the other side of the sea, but amidst different surroundings and with different results. Nevertheless, what transpired during those sixty-five years in the hidden recesses of that great silent land, the building up of the Iroquois confederacy, the migration of the Hurons to the Georgian Bay, and the abandonment of the St. Lawrence, were incidents of no slight importance in giving tone and direction in the early history of New France, of New

Amsterdam and New England. At the same time, momentous events were transpiring in Europe which made the same sixty-five years the most pregnant of any half century in the history of the world, for they created and brought into play the forces which led to the colonization of North America by rival nations, impelled by antagonistic impulses and principles.